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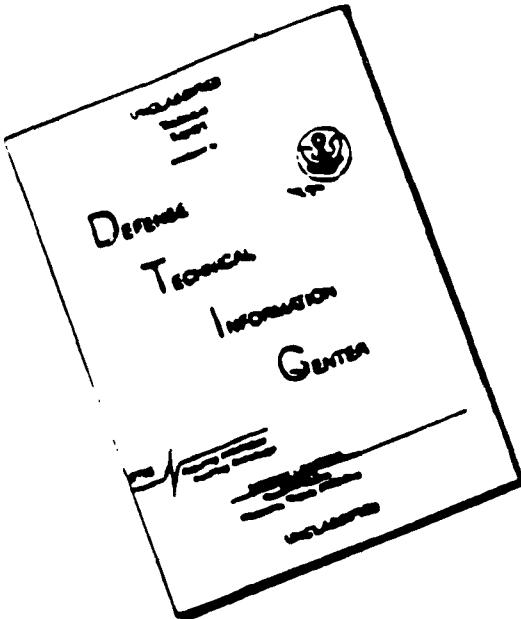
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NEW SUPERPOWER, THE EUROPEAN UNION

by

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

IN

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INTRODUCTION

Will the early years of the next century see the birth of a new economic and military superpower in the form of the European Union, or will the old nationalisms destroy the new political union?. There is no doubt about the intentions of the political leaders of Europe going ahead with the political and economical integration, but has the European people the same feeling?.

The end of World War II was the turning point for a successful reconstruction of Europe, and at that time there was a clear conviction among European leaders that the old system of competition between states must be replaced by cooperation that would not allow any country to threaten the others. The success of reconstruction was so big that companies and commercial activities became countries small from the economical point of view. It was necessary to expand the economic boundaries by one hand and by the other to increase cooperation to affront enterprises that transcended individual nations.

The process started slowly and speeded up with the time. Today the integration process goes faster and soon the trespassing competencies from the nations to the Commission will require the sovereignty renounce in some parcels of the power. Here there is the same question, will the European nations give their financial and political sovereignty up?. Will the minorities feel discrimination from a central government that will probably can not change their attention from the big problems to the smaller ones?.

If the process goes ahead as analysts and commentators agree what will be the power of this new supernation?. The number of questions and doubts about this union are equal to the problems that this union creates and they must be overcome. Nevertheless there are reasons to think that sooner or later there will be a supernation in Europe that becomes, probably not

a military superpower but without a doubt an economic. In this prediction agree all the writings from especialized economical magazines and general news papers, in Europe and also in America.

To answer most of these questions it is necessary to understand some questions like: Why did the construction of the European Union begin?, Why it is necessary to go ahead? and What would be the result of joining the now independent national powers? Could it be a liner addition, or will it be true that the result is lesser than the addition of all parts?.

ANTECEDENTS

Historically speaking the idea of a big European Nation is not a new one. The Romans developed a big nation and they extended their national boundaries for almost all occidental Europe. the rule from Rome over almost all Europe divided in provinces lasted almost 500 years. The Empire, as we call it was born from the colonies changing their status to provinces, and most Europeans became Roman Citizens; they spoke the same language and had the same goods. The Empire started with military actions, establishment of colonies, but to pacify these colonies they were obliged to use political solutions to stabilize its Empire converting the Europeans in Roman citizens.

Through the years others intendet to build a big European nation, like Carlomagno, Napoleon, Hitler, etc., but these initiatives ended in a big fiasco. This happened because the system used was the expansion and dominance of one nation over others. The only support of these initiatives were a strong army, the tool was the application of military power, and the result was oppressors and oppressed, and the became irreconcilable enemies.

At the end of World War II the principle for the construction of the European Union was different, they never thought of the use of military power, they thought of a free approach for the nations to solve common problems. The destruction caused by the war overcame the possibilities of recovering on their own (the massive help from the Marshall Plan was necessary) and many people started to think of joint efforts to carry out common projects. One of these ideas manifested the creation of the European Union as pointed out in a Speech delivered to the University of Zurich on 19 September 1946, by Winston Churchill. He called for the creation of a United States of Europe as the means for the region's postwar economic and political salvation¹.

But the turning point for the creation of a big European Union can be found in the European Coal and Steel Community, in 1950, like the first economical supranational organization in Europe. This initiative has an important difference with the past initiatives; this initiative is based on voluntarily actions of the nations, intend to solve common problems, and every nation has the same rights and obligations.

The first step was made on 17 March 1948, by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands and the UK by signing the Brussels Treaty. To develop Article IV regarding mutual defense the five nations agreed to render all their military power to any country attacked. The first chairman of the Commanders-in-Chief in a lecture at the RUSI, on 12 October 1949, Field Marshall Montgomery, established the condition for cooperation in the defense area²:

- Clear political direction and decisions
- Rapid and precise decisions from a superior Authority
- Pooling of sovereignty
- Pooling of resources
- Confidence and mutual trust

- Proper linguistic qualifications
- Final Requirement "equal in importance to any of the others, is what we must all have a very clear realization of the truth contained in the old proverb: God helps those who help themselves."

These conditions are valid today, mainly the conditions referred to the pooling of sovereignty and resources in supranational projects. The construction of the European Union means the death of the sovereignty of the nations who built it up, it is not easy to give up the responsibilities that now have different national parliaments to a new supraparliament, that is the reason that the integration process must go step by step and slowly. The process request to reach some goals to start a new one, as Cockfield's White Paper said, "just as customs union had preceded economical integration, so economic integration had to precede European unity"³.

The Maastricht Treaty recognizes this sequence and defines its objectives. First economical union following the monetary union ".....the creation of a space without interior borders, the fortifying of an economic union and monetary that will imply, in their moment, an only coin...."⁴. Later the military union will follow the political one, as states the Article J.4 "The common foreign and security policy shall include all questions related to the security of the Union, including the eventual framing of a common defense policy that would be able to lead, in their moment, to a common defense."⁵

Using these principles different organizations were born to solve specific problems, most of these organizations exist today and are the reason and the support of the European Union. The agencies, programs, projects, etc. first rule is the consensus principle, and it was useful in the past, when fears existed between nations.

Today the positions and intentions of the nations are more clear, and these supranational organizations have reached a high level of development. They need to change the useful principle of consensus for the principles of democratic majority and unity of command to regulate their activities, the Commission of the European Union. The change from consensus to majority is a reality for the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament; each day the Commission has more authority, but going down the chain it is different and this situation calls from the European nations for a faster integration and more authority to the European institutions.

REASONS TO BUILD UP A EUROPEAN UNION

The idea of a European Union is not an entelechy born from imaginative politics looking for notoriety, it is the response to specific problems. Since 1945 specific response to European problems generated an uncountable European Agencies and other organizations, using the principle of consensus. Today these organizations need to change the principle of consensus to progress. The problems that originated these supranational agencies can be grouped in different categories. Problems that:

1. need international cooperation for their resolution, clear examples are: mutual security and air transportation
2. need international investment to overcome them, this group have numerous examples, like spatial and technological investigation
3. deal with the increase of industrial competitiveness. Here the majority of the solutions have relation with the free movement of capital and labor.

For each of these categories there are innumerable examples, the most important are well known by the Europeans and the rest of the world. This paper will use these important

companies, because it is impossible to get information on the others. The only limit is the information available and not an intentioned forgiven.

1. NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

This package include problems that need the participation of different nations to solve it. Dealing with these problems exists specific agencies, that have had a diferent development, in parallel with the developping of the problem. The most important are EUROCONTROL and the Wester European Union:

♦ EUROCONTROL

Some of the problem may be afforded by nations, but the air traffic flow needs the participation of all nations. (it represents the most clears give the sovereignty up that will be made at short time). The overcrowded skies of Europe affect the airline companies, who see how day by day the average delay of their flights increase, and this makes the image of the companies worst and worst every day.

It is true that not all the airports in Europe have the same traffic problems, but the solution of the problem needs the collaboration of all nations, the delays in airports affect other airports far away.

To solve the air traffic problems European nations created EUROCONTROL with the intention to increase the capacity and compatibility of the different systems used by nations. This causes a loss of sovereignty, because the management of the air space is accomplished by an external organization from Brussels.

For many years EUROCONTROL was a coordination agency, and a way to get taxes from the use of aeronautical facilities. Now it is different, the problem is so important that most of the nations are ready to give up their sovereignty. The first result of this new situation is the 1994 development and implementation of the EUROCONTROL Flow Management Unit, that will be the single flow management center for all of Western and Central Europe. This unit will manage all traffic flow from the 28 Member States of the CEAC (Coordination European Air-Space Committee). This unit will also constitute one of the Eurocontrol's main task designed to improve the air traffic control system in Europe.

Eurocontrol also has other projects to increase the security and capacity of the air traffic system. These include a satellite communications system, the Mode S advanced transponder system with exchange of information by data link, etc., these projects at the same time represent advanced technology investigation and the investment of big sums of money.

Eurocontrol is not an EC institution, but the EC makes up almost 85 percent of Eurocontrol, and part of Eurocontrol funding comes from the EC. This is the reason why some people consider Eurocontrol like part of the EC. The EC, a couple of years ago, started a study called ATLAS to identify the problems related with air transportation, and procedures for equipment procurement and organization of the national systems. One of the points that this study consider is the Eurocontrol responsibilities inside of the European Union.

One more indication of the necessity of a centralized authority, is that some airports need airspace from other nation to facilitate the approach to the airport. This requirement has

some problems for the air defense system, that have civil traffic controled for a foreign center. Otherwise this made reality the idea of an airspace without borders.

♦ THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

The members have like objectives to defend to defend against aggressors. During the Cold War the WEU played a testimonial roll, NATO was and is the principal actor defending Europe. At the same time defenders of the European Identity call for a division of the NATO into two pillars, the American and the European pillar.

The European pillar, for many Europeans, is a Western European Union, assuming most of the tasks that NATO have in Europe. These people were viewing the Maastricht Treaty that established the Western European Union (WEU) as the defense arm of the European Union until the WEU will be absorbed by it.

Developing the WEU, the planning cell was established in Brussels in 1992, and the WEU Secretariat moved from London to Brussels in January 1993. The WEU Satellite Center of Torrejon (Spain) will analyze satellite imagery, now from commercial satellites, in the future from the HELIOS satellite ((French, Italian and Spanish program).

Member-states have declared forces available to the WEU⁶:

- The Eurocorps
- The multinational Division, which also forms part of NATO (Comprises Belgian, British, Dutch and German air-mobile-forces.

- - The UK/Netherlands Amphibious Force of marines which also a NATO role reinforcing northern Norway.

It is important to stick out, that France and Spain that did not integrate their military forces in NATO, will accept the integration inside the WEU.

All these steps lead to a European Armed Forces, but the integration needs a Supreme Authority, not only the consensus of the Ministers of Defense. The process has started and probably the next step is to convince more Europeans that the union of the Europeans is the best solution to rationalize the armed forces in Europe.

2. NEEDS FOR INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT

The high cost of some investigations make impossible to affront it individually, these programs joined the investment from different countries interested in that investigation.

♦ EUREKA

Probably one of the best examples of the changes in the CE is the EUREKA high technology research program, that with almost thirty subprograms in different areas, like the high definition TV, with thirty electronics companies from different countries working together in the development of this high technology,

♦ EURATOM (European Atomic Energy Community).

Six countries signed the EURATOM treaty in Rome on 25 March 1957, and now twelve countries are signatories. This treaty has several objectives, some of them relate to

safeguards for the use of the nuclear energy, and others deal with atomic energy research, and join ventures between different nations to build up installations to investigate and produce fissionable materials.

Particularly importance introduced in the the EC by this traty was the idea of a "free movement of capital for investment in the field of nuclear energy and by freedom of the employment for specialists within the Community"⁷, because this idea was aplied to other teatys, and now is one of the pillars of the European Union.

♦ EUROPEAN SPACE AGENCY

Nine EC countries belong to this agency and they will invest \$26 billion during 1990s. With this money the Agency will develop different programs like the Columbus laboratory, Crew Transfer Vehicle (CTV) and Automated Transfer Vehicle (ATV) among other programs.

In the spacial arena it is also necessary to have a supreme command, one supranational authority that temper individualist tendencies, such as the French attempt to strengthen their space autonomy⁸.

♦ ARMAMENT INDUSTRY

Governments sponsored or privet join ventures in the armament arena have been going on for long time. The results are different projects like the:

- Tornado airplane, that has a three nation training school in the UK.
- Airbus, a large four nations venture in the air civil transport.

- Common New Generation Frigate, French/Italian/UK
- Future Large Aircraft, air tactical transport , with the participation of seven nations.
- Eurofighter, future air combat plane

There are also individual initiatives like the French Rafale fighter aircraft.

The creation of the European Armaments Agency is one element of initiatives to rationalize defense research, procurement and trade in Europe. This initiative and the responsibilities transferring from the Independent European Program Group (IEPG) to the WEU and the absorption of this organization by the EC predict a formal role for the Commission, in providing policy for rationalizing defense trade and procurement among members.

♦ CIVIL INDUSTRY

One example of this situation is the Aeronautical Industry, that have different supranational projects, like the AIRBUS CONSORTIUM, or join companies from different countries like the EUROCOPTER.

3. DEALING WITH COMPETITIVENESS

To increase competitiveness all initiatives deal with Community Directives to reduce economic, bureaucratic and administrative barriers. Today is a reality the free market, and the desapearance of national monopolies transferred to the privet sector..

There are one exception in the privatitation proceess, the armament industry. If the Europeans want the consolidation of the union, they must forget individual initiatives and

take away the old barriers that every national government had to defend their own national interests. The first step is to abolish the article 232 that preserve the armament industry from the EC regulations that foment competition.

These supranational armament ventures need the existence of a supranational body that make laws according with the real situation, that foment competition and avoid delays and barriers from the nations that are many times more interested in their national electorate, than in the real situation.

EUROPEAN UNION NATIONAL POWER ELEMENTS

THE NEW BIG POWER

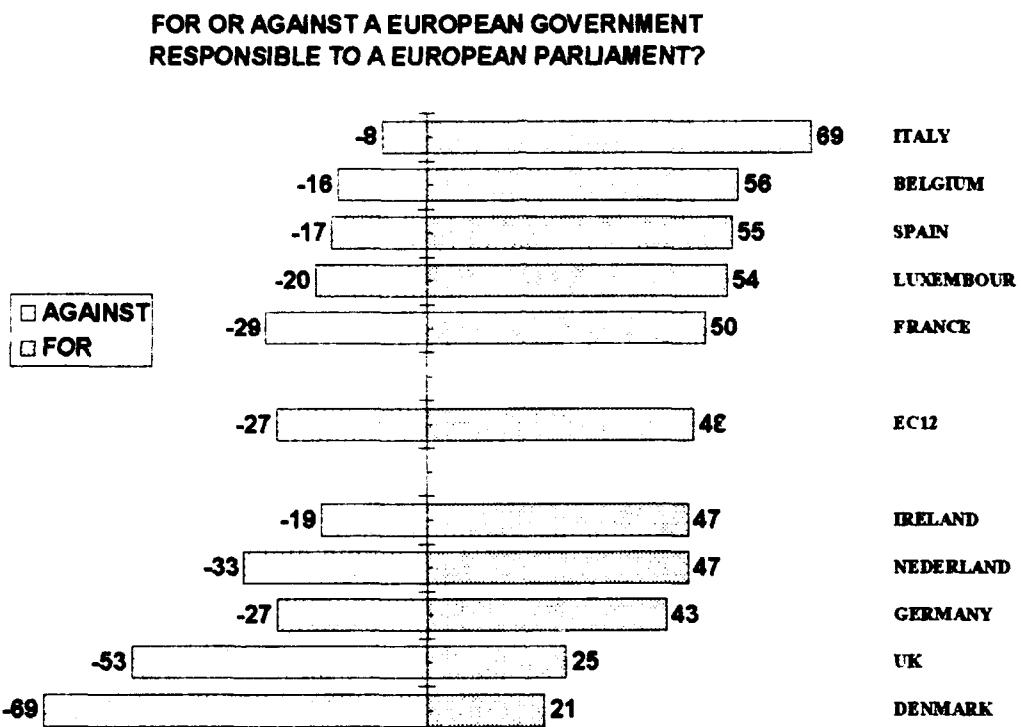
If the European Union becomes a successful reality, it will be a new superpower, probably more economically than militarily. In any case this superpower will have the classical components, (geography, national resources, industrial capacity, population, military strength, national character, and political cohesion)⁹:

*** NATIONAL CHARACTER AND POLITICAL COHESION**

Community's National Character does not exist, some Europeans want the European Union, but this does not mean National Character. If you ask to someone the simple question Where are you from? He will answer, I am French, British or German, but no one will answer, I am from the European Union. It will take two or three generations to develop the European National Character.

The Danish gave one idea of the political cohesion in the Community, they rejected the Maastricht Treaty, and started a reaction against the centralization. The support for a central

government from Brussels decreased from 1991. The support to the centralization varies from 69% in Italy to 21% in Denmark. The following chart shows every country position with respect to the European Government:



* POPULATION

Cultural, ethnically and religious differences between nations, or inside some nations, make integration difficult, at least this is what the antieuropeans argue against the union. It is true that some nationalist rulers use these differences to strengthen the separatist spirit that exists in some European regions. This problem is not patrimony of one nation, it is a reality in some countries and a potential danger in others. Examples are: The Bask in Spain, the Ulster in Great Britain, Corsica in France.

This separatism, most of the times is a pseudo separatism, they want to be independents from Spain, UK, France, etc. and, at the same time, want to be members of the European Union. This contradiction is clear in the Bask separatism, their rulers have declared many times they are Europeans and they want to get their own representatives in the European Union.

The European diversity, for some people, is the greatest difficulty that the European Union will affront to construct the EC, nevertheless it also has one clear advantage, the existence of numerous regional differences made impossible that one group reach preponderance over others, till now none of the nations have an overwhelming majority in the European institutions to become the preponderant and dominant class.

All nation members of the European Community belong to the Occidental Culture, most of their population are Christians, although there are some religious minorities like Muslims, Jewish, etc. This similarity became in disparity regarding the language, there are different languages and dialects, and the tendency is to increase this disparity because some nationalist group use their language like a flag of their identity. For example many people nowadays in Spain speak a dialect, and some of them do not know Spanish well.

The position from the community is to increase the number of bilingual speakers, at least for university students. Jack Delors, has said that he wants to make it possible for all students to do at least part of their studies in an EC country other than their own¹⁰. The initiatives to foment a second language are programs like: ERASMUS to develop cooperation in higher education and mobility of students; NICOPED (the Network of Inter-University Co-operation Programs in Education), LINGUA (to promote competence in foreign languages within member states).

	Area	Population	Urban P.	Literacy
BELGIUM	11,750	10,000,000	95	98
DENMARK	16,630	5,200,000	85	9
FRANCE	211,210	56,900,000	73	99
GERMANY	137,800	80,600,000	90	99
GREECE	50,940	10,300,000	58	93
IRELAND	27,136	3,500,000	56	99
ITALY	116,310	58,000,000	72	97
LUXEMBOURG	990	400,000	78	100
NETHERLANDS	14,410	15,200,000	89	99
PORTUGAL	35,550	10,500,000	30	85
SPAIN	194,900	38,600,000	91	97
UK	94,530	57,800,000	90	99
<u>Sum</u>	912,156	347,000,000		

New Members

SWEDEN	173,800	8,700,000	83	99
FINLAND	130,119	5,000,000	62	100
AUSTRIA	32,375	7,900,000	55	98
NORWAY	125,049	4,300,000	71	100
Total Sum	1,393,499	372,900,000		

Figures in the US

US	3,536,341	255,600,000	75	97
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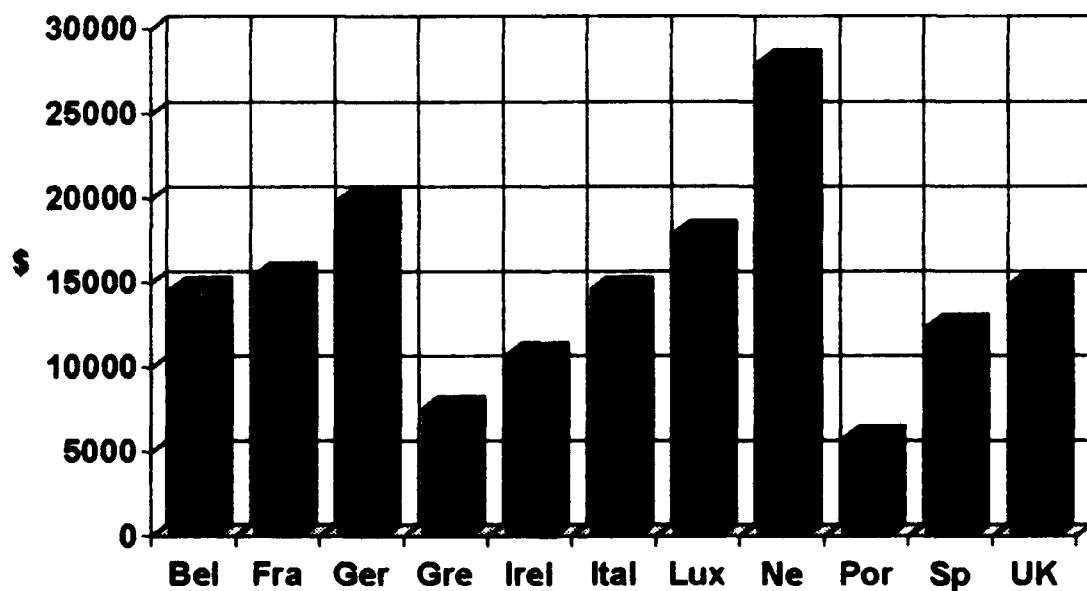
Three hundred fifty million people will live in 900,000 sq. miles¹¹ will live 350 million people, living in urban areas three of four, with a literacy rate of 98%. These people have

access to high education in a big network of universities and other high-tech institutions, they also have other facilities that give them all the advantages of modern society.

* ECONOMY AND RAW MATERIALS

The integration of the economy is an area in where results will be noticed first. This European economic integration means that "the greater Europe of the year 2000 will have a gross product of \$9 trillion. To put that figure in some perspective, it means that Europe will have grown a new market about equal in size to the United States economy today¹²." The economic system will be influenced by the Germans, who have an economic system between the American model, based on maximum personal freedom, minimum government intervention, and the Japanese model that "emphasizes long-term national strategies for economic development, and a benevolent political-economic despotism which promotes the interests of the collective units"¹³.

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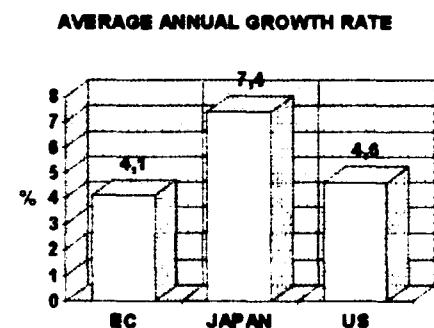
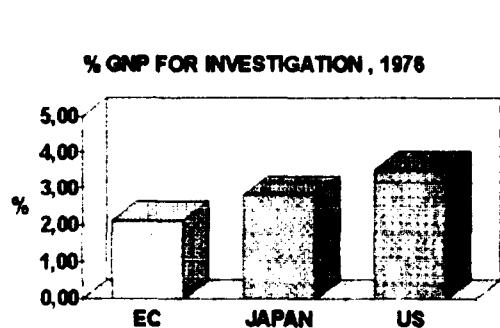
Today the economic perspectives have shadows that darken the hopes of the Europeans. The differences between the rich and the poor increase instead of decrease, inflation is too high in some countries, the unemployment rate is four times higher than in the US, and interest rates look for a reduction of the inflation instead of foment the economical grow.

For many Europeans these are problems derived from the economical recession that has hit Europe harder than the US and Japan, and it is not a structural economic situation, for others it is the price of the German unification. Nevertheless all agree that the crisis will end soon, and the recovering process will change the perspectives.

In any case among the seven richest countries, four are European Union members, (in the future these seven may become four if the EC takes the place of these four), giving an idea of the Community economical capacity. There is no doubt that in the near future the world will have three super economical powers, US, Japan and The European Union.

* TECHNOLOGY

Though the years European industry has shown signs of weakness and it was not in a good position relative to the US and Japan, as shown in the following graphs:



To reduce this gap the research budget has increased from 2.6 % of the total Community budget in 1988 to 3.8 in 1992 and will reach the 5% in 1997, this year the Community will spend \$ 3.3 billion. Maastricht has changed the economic perspective, the investigation tendency, and intent to exert major influence on the European defense industry strategy, using the collaboration between companies and the industrial synergy between the civilian and military sectors. An example of the development of products with civil and military applications is the Hispasat communications system.

Programs that show the EC high-tech effort extend from the fusion energy, with de Joint European Torus (the world record-holding fusion facility located at Culham, Oxfordshire)¹⁴, to the cooperation between universities and others institutes of higher education in areas of advanced training for new technologies with COMETT (Community in Education and Training for Technology)¹⁵.

Other programs are: RACE (Research and Development in Advanced Communications Technologies for Europe); BRITE (basic Research in Industrial Technologies for Europe); CUBE in biotechnology; AIM (Advanced Informatic and Medicine) and DRIVE, for research into road safety and traffic pollution ¹⁶.

This approach reinforces the effort made to develop technology for different nations. In the past the programs in high tech development were uncountable, some had close relation with the military power, particularly in that projects in with participation became from the nations.

The most important programs in the military arena are: the Eurofighter (UK, Germany, Italy and Spain), the Eurocopter (Seven countries made specifications). One of the peculiarities of this military industry is the protectionism that till now every country gives to their military

industry, all of them in one way or another received subsidies. This situation may change soon, and privatization of these companies become a reality.

* INDUSTRY

European industrial capacity cover all spectrum of production, from airplanes to ships, heavy machinery to computer chips, clothes to nutrition manufacturing. To have an idea of this capacity it will be useful to take a look at the Forbes non Americans companies, and it shows that between the 500 largest non American companies, there are 196 from Japan and 210 from the EC; in the Super Fifty non-American 27 are from the common market.

It is clear that the European Union will be one of three super industrial powers in the world, with large companies in the armament area, with a clear tendency to integrate and form joint ventures.

* MILITARY

The perspective from some commentators about a collective security are pessimistic, the comments are "defense identity remains an empty phrase"¹⁷. There are different opinions about the military forces of Europe, some want to keep on NATO, 50 years of peace avail this position, others want European Military Forces independent of NATO, these group think in the European Western Union and the Eurocorp like turning point to develop the European Military Forces, and there are a third group that wants an intermediate solution, European Military Forces like part of NATO.

There are also people that Europe do not see any threat that make necessary a big army, they only see regional conflicts that would may oblige to some intervention, in peace keeping, or peace making forces.

The debate is open, but the European Union goes ahead, and sooner or later will come the political union followed by the military union, and the changes from now untill that moment make it difficult to visualize the results. It is not crazy to think that when this happens the armed forces will be the sum of the armed forces from all nations, but it is impossible to predict the organization.

To study this military power it is necessary to study its three components. Human, Equipment and Organization. The Human component will be the sum of the forces from every country member, and this represent 2,033,000 persons. Some conscripts and some professionals.

The Equipment, some from the US and the rest European development, is less sophisticated than the American, but the amount is not a despicable one. For example between all nations they have:

- Nuclear capacity (French and UK)
- The Air Force will have more than 2400 fighters

604	Tornado
410	F-16
70	F-18
680	Mirage F.1, III, IV, V, 2000
600	Others like Mig 29, Jaguar, F-5, etc.

- Soon the inventory will include the Rafale and the Eurofighter. It is important to stick out, that the airlift capacity is smaller, it is not able to project force like the American airlift.

- The navy will have:

8	Strategic Submarines
71	Tactical Submarines
6	Carriers
2	Cruisers
91	Destroyers
108	Frigates

And other different type of naval ships.

- The army will have:

4102	Leopard 1
2557	Leopard 2
404	Scorpion
179	Centurion
1299	AMX-30
1281	M-60
2128	M-48
783	M-47
426	Challenger
700	Chieftain

Artillery, SSMC, SAM, etc.

The Organization component is difficult to predict. The first steps are the new approach to the WEU and the Eurocorps, but these two steps are like a drop of water in the ocean, and the idea of the French and British losing the control of their nuclear forces is unthinkable.

Three nations will assign units to the Eurocorp; France, Germany and Belgium, and others like Spain announced the intention to assigned forces in short term. The HQ will be operative this year. The WEU has moved their Headquarters from London to Brussels and a WEU reconnaissance center (Torrejon) will study the information from satellites.

*** GEOGRAPHY**

The European Geography has peculiarities that made it different from other nations; its proximity to Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and other Central European Countries, will give the Europeans a privilege position to influence these countries on their way to democracy, and facilitate their economic development opening the European market as much as possible to them.

Also the Europeans share the Mediterranean sea with the Magreb countries and they are not too far from the Meddle East.

These neighborhood gives the European Community a special geopolitical importance, but at the same time, this proximity made the Community the objective of illegal emigration from the African and Center-European countries. For many people the thread, that is probably the most destabilizing to the integration process, particularly in this time of economic recession and high rates of unemployment..

CONCLUSIONS

To build up the European Community is not an easy task, the problems to overcome are uncountable, the differences between nations are enormous, and the recession in Europe put away the monetary union goal. That is true but it is also true that many Europeans see the European Union like the only way to go up to the train of technology and modernity. Manifestations from different people, company leaders, intellectuals, students, trade unions, and politics give that impression.

There are also groups opposed to the union and the poles reflect this opposition. These groups draw out all the defects and misleading aspects of the process. This opposition is useful to correct current and possibly future problems, and it is a good indication of good democratic health, particularly in countries that the democratic tradition is weak.

Nevertheless it is clear that the dominant consensus in Europe is that the only way to overcome the economical downturn and the resurgence of atavistic nationalist and racist passions is to push ahead with the Maastricht treaty. The goal of the European integration is a Unite States of Europe (the European Union), a vast confederation stretching from the Atlantic to Asia Menor, sharing a common economy, a common form of government, and a common approach to the outside world. To know the date for this is a question without answer, but there are a goal toward which the European leaders are working looking at the next century and facing the challenges that this goal has.

The result of this union probably will be a big economical superpower, with an advanced and competitive industry. Without territorial ambitions, the Community that will look for defensive armed forces capable to defend the NATO territory and participate in international coalitions auspices by the UN.

The European Union will need three or four generations to speak of National Character and political cohesion, to talk about the European Union instead of France, Spain, Italy, etc. to put first the common problems instead of the national problems. We can consider that the union is a reality, when the outsiders don talk about the German economic, and the star to consider the community economy first.

The final conclusion may be that the Europeans, like the Japanese are two advantageous children that will need their father to protect them. The results of this relation, like in a family, will depend of how the father act in the natural development of the children.

¹ EURATOM and Nuclear Safeguards. Darryl A. Howlett, pag. 15. the early efforts of a European Unity. (363.1799 H865e)

² RUSI Journal August 1993. The requirements are valid today. Some had been applied in the construction of the European Union, and they must be applied to all of the activities.

³ Europower, The Essential Guide To Europe's Economic Transformation in 1992. Nicholas Colchester and David Buchan. The Economics Books, Times Books. Randomhouse. (330.94 C687e). (page 31, bottom)

⁴ Maastricht treaty, articulo

⁵ Maastricht treaty, articulo

⁶ Janes 1994, pag 31.

⁷ EURATOM and Nuclear Safeguards. Darryl A. Howlett. Enumeration of the tasks of the EURATOM.

⁸ Europe sets \$26-billion space program for 1990s. AVIATION WEEK & SPACE TECHNOLOGY / November 16, 1992.

⁹ American National Security, Amos A. Jordan; Willian J. Taylor, Jr., and Lawrence J. Korb. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore and London. Page 24.

¹⁰ The New European Education, Europe, September 1993

¹¹ Figures from the 1993 Almanack

¹² EUROQUAKE. Europe's Explosive Economic Challenge Will Change the World. Daniel Burstein. Simon & Schuster. New York. (Page 22. 1 Izda). (337B972e).

¹³ EUROQUAKE. Europe's Explosive Economic Challenge Will Change the World. Daniel Burstein. Simon & Schuster. New York. (Page 17. 1 Izda). (337B972e).

¹⁴ JET Strike Hiys Brussels, Science. VOL. 256 26 June 1992, page 1775

¹⁵ EIU European Trends Background Supplement 1992-93

¹⁶ EIU European Trends Background Supplement 1992-93

¹⁷ Europe after Maastricht, Walter Goldstein. Foreign Affairs, Winter 1992/1993. page 127